AN

Eaſie Method

FOR

SATISFACTION

Concerning the Late

Revolution & Settlement:

WITH A

Particular Reſpect to Two Treatiſes of Dr. *SHERLOCK*'s;

VIZ.

The Caſe of Reſiſtance, and *The Caſe of Allegiance.*

In a Letter to a Friend.

LONDON,
Printed, and are to be ſold by *Richard Baldwin* at the *Oxford-Arms* in *Warwick-Lane*, 1691.

ADVERTISEMENT
TO THE
READER.

THE Author of the following Sheets being very affectionate and zealous for their Majesties Service and Interest in the late great Revolution, first wrote them for his own Memory and Use, and then permitted them to be perused by some Friends for their Satisfaction.

The World being at that time glutted with Pamphlets, his Friends were content to enjoy the Papers themselves without making them publick. But they since observing other Principles of Submission to the present Government, advanced by an Author of good Reputation and Merit, which they did by no means approve; they think it very seasonable to acquaint or remind the World (and let it take its choice) of those which they judge truer and better; and honestly by this Author to tell the plain Truth, as far as they know, without any Disguise or Shuffle, without any too much politick Wariness, Concealment, or Reserve, which some Men make use of when they are gotten into Power and Interest in the Government themselves; tho' while they were in the Croud and Number of Inferiors, they honestly thought, and plainly spake their Minds like others.

The Principles of Possession *and* Power *always universally requiring* Obedience, *and that of* Universal Non-resistance *joyned together, they look upon as False and Pernicious, and very suspicious also at this time. For by them (this is not a*

Place to ſay more) within a ſhort while (and God only knows what may happen by his Providence for our Sins or Trial) King James, *or the pretended Prince of* Wales, *or the Chriſtian* Grand Signior *may have Right to our Obedience too, and we wear Chains as long as we have Bodies, and carry all the marks of an extream Miſery, until a Prince of ſuch Moderation and Generoſity as his preſent Majeſty, and in his advantagious Circumſtances comes to relieve us: An Happineſs that is not likely to return again 'till the Day of Judgment. Nay at this day, we had ſeen our Miſery accompliſhed and deſperate, if one Circumſtance had been wanting. All Attempts had been ineffectual, if all the Oppreſſed had been purely ſtill paſſive in their Deliverance, and not ſo wiſe and hardy as to be Active, and to adventure upon Reſiſtance, and threatned Damnation itſelf; in which ſtate the Author of the* Caſe of Allegiance *careleſly leaves theſe Generous Perſons. Nor are they ever like to get out of it; for I do not hear that they either do now, or will hereafter repent (at leaſt in their Conſciences) however the ſucceſs may prove. I will not ſay whether ſome Men, who will be now bare Accepters of Deliverance, are not in a ſtate of Damnation themſelves likewiſe; becauſe it is poſſible that they may have repented for what they once actually contributed to our happy change.*

It hath not been thought neceſſary to alter any thing conſiderable in the Authors following Diſcourſe, though written almoſt Two Years ſince; but only to remember the Reader of the Time and Circumſtances.

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An Eaſie Method for Satisfaction Concerning the late Revolution and Settlement; with a particular reſpect to Two Treatiſes of Dr. Sherlock's: *Viz. The* Caſe of Reſiſtance, *and the* Caſe of Allegiance.

In a Letter to a Friend.

Dear Sir,

THO' it be a Seaſon in which there is a great deal of Paſſion, Partiality and Prejudice abroad; yet I profeſs my ſelf as far as I can diſcern, to give my Opinion in the Queſtion now ſo warmly debated, with a perfect Freedom from any of them. What I now ſend you, hath been my Judgment ever ſince I began to think; and when amongſt other things this hath happened to fall into my thoughts, as it hath often, I could never ſee reaſon, notwithſtanding the Aſſurance or Complyance ſometime ſince in Faſhion, to believe otherwiſe than I now do. You know it might have advantaged my Intereſt as well as another Mans, if I could have thought or would have ſaid in this, and other matters what others did. And you know too as well, with ſome others, that it is long ſince you heard ſuch a Diſcourſe as this which now follows; tho' now by your Command, and at your Diſcretion, it may firſt appear in Print, when you think Plain-Dealing is no crime or unſeaſonable.

I do remember my ſelf to have been always very ſenſible of the innumerable and ineſtimable Benefits of Government; and therefore to have been tender of its Reputation and Authority. I never was ſo fond of Subjects Liberties and Priviledges, but that I judged they might have too much of them, as well as too little; and I thought my Experience had enabled me to give Examples both at Home and Abroad. I never had any Knack or Inclination to Flatter Prince or People, Governours or Governed; and I hope the happy time is come, in which the native Freedom of Truth, uttered with due Prudence, Modeſty, and publick Charity, (not out of Pride and Intereſt) is not only ſafe, but acceptable to the Greateſt; but not more Great, than Juſt and Good.

It is my Principle, and I hope I ſhall ever act according to it, to Love every Man, and every ſort and condition of Men, with a Love of Benevolence, and with a Love of Beneficence too in Proportion to true Merit, or ſo far as they are Owners of thoſe Qualities which contribute to the moſt Publick and Common Good. And becauſe I look upon a Sincere and Prevalent Love of the Truth to be one of the moſt Eminent of them; therefore as I highly eſteem it in others, ſo I can not eaſily neglect, but very well like it in my ſelf.

Were I to diſpute this Controverſy of *Univerſal Non-reſiſtance*, even to the moſt oppreſſive and abuſed Government leſs popularly; I ſhould in the firſt place not only ſay, but evidence it by the ſtricteſt Demonſtration, that the *Summum Bonum*, *the Greateſt and moſt Durable Good*, not of every Particular (which was the Philoſophers Enquiry) but *of the Aggregate of all National Beings, their greateſt Perfection of Nature and Happineſs of Life, is the laſt End of all Actions whatſoever, even of thoſe of God himſelf.* That the *Reaſon* of them *All* is to be taken from *Thence*, according to every ones Comprehenſion; for the moſt part immediately, or by the Obſervation of ſome general Rules and Laws, which by Reaſon and Experience have been found generally to effect and fulfil that End. Amongſt theſe are Obedience to Superiors, Parents, Maſters, Civil Magiſtrates.

But ſometimes the moſt *Publick Good* is the immediate Reaſon of Action, as in thoſe Caſes which we call Extraordinary. All the *Precepts* of *Natural* and *Revealed Religion* are but the *Parts, Inſtances, Kinds*, or *Means of one only Comprehenſive Virtue*, or *a moſt Publick Univerſalized Spirit and Temper.* Nor is it eaſy to ſay whether there is any one Law of Nations or Nature, which hath not been

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in ſome particular diſpenſed withal for the above mentioned End. It is the Reaſon why God himſelf hath ſometimes done it, who infallibly knows the ſeaſon of doing it. It is the Reaſon why the moſt heroically vertuous have done it with great Approbation and Commendation, where Sincerity and Succeſs, the Integrity of the Doer, and the proſperous Event of the Deed have appeared to Men. Or if at any time it hath been forbidden univerſally for any Man to go beſide or contrary to ſome great Law, the Reaſon is, becauſe to give Liberty even to the beſt Man at any time, is dangerous to the publick Good in general and in all times conſidered. Finally, the *Rewards* of *Power* and *Happineſs* are here only *proportionably due and juſt*.

Nor is this and much more, only demonſtrable by *Natural Reaſon*; but the Doctrin of the *Scripture*. For therein we learn that, *The Glory of God, the Good of our Neighbour, and our own Salvation, jointly and all together* (which three Parts make up the whole) *are to be the ultimate End and Reaſon of all we deſign and do*. For *each* of theſe are commanded to be regarded in *every Action*.

The ſame hath been taught by the moſt wiſe and vertuous of all places and Ages, ſuch as *Plato*, *Ariſtole*, *Tully*, *Antoninus*, &c. Nay tho' it may ſeem fit only for Philoſophers, and above the Reach of the Generality: yet in truth it is and ever hath been the Sentiment and Rule of all the honeſt and innocent part of Mankind, every one applying it, when any caſe requires it or falls into debate, according to their Wit and Experience, be it more or leſs; nor is the Plow-man and Porter ignorant of it.

Now I am perſwaded that this *one Principle* is preſently improvable by a competent Underſtanding both to the determination of this *Queſtion* in *general*, and *particularly* applied to our late *Caſe*. I do believe that from it all *Objections* from *Oaths Scriptures* and *Human Authorities* may be eaſily anſwered; ſuppoſing one Propoſition more, which, if it be denied, may be evidently proved. And that is,

That a *Government* may in ſuch manner *neglect* or *abuſe* its *Power*; and that *ours* did, or certainly would have done irreparably (humanly ſpeaking, or as far as a wiſe man could ſee) had it not been in that nick of time prevented; that it was abundantly *beſt* for our *Community*, for *Chriſtendom* (and we know not how far in time it may reach) to *reſtrain* and *oppoſe King James* in his *Doings* and *Deſigns*; yea, and to *change* him too for thoſe whom

God, by his gracious Providence, hath ſet over us, and put into his Place.

The Argument will in ſhort be put into this form.

What is for the Greateſt, moſt Publick and Durable Good, is to be done:

But Oppoſition, Reſiſtance and Change of Governors may be in ſome Caſes, and was in Ours, ſuch.

The firſt *Propoſition* I think is ſo evident, that none can aſſign any other *ultimate End and Reaſon of all Actions* to be compared with it.

The former part alſo of the ſecond *Propoſition* Papiſts themſelves will grant, *viz.* That Reſiſtance and Change of Governors may be ſometimes for the moſt publick Good; of which, if they be not changed (as they are not that I know) the Doctrin of their School-Men, Canoniſts, Commentators, &c. the two Reigns of *Hen.* III and IV in *France*, and Hiſtories enough beſides, are vulgarly known Arguments. And as I like not an opinion much the better for being Roman, ſo I am not for that reaſon alone preſently to reject it. As it hath been well ſaid againſt Diſſenters in other caſes by thoſe of the Church of *England*, who do not approve this Opinion, and ſeem to like it ſo much the leſs, becauſe the Papiſts hold it. But if either they now, or any others do deny it, it may ſoon be proved by Inſtances enough.

And for the laſt part, *viz.* That Reſiſtance of K. *J.* and Change is in our Caſe for the *Publick Good*, All but *Papiſts* and ſome *few others* will grant it. For altho' many would have had ſome things otherwiſe carried, and other matters may diſpleaſe them; yet they'l acknowledg that what we were delivered or preſerved from, our Sufferings and our Dangers were beyond compariſon worſe. For Example,

Tho' our preſent Liberty might not be approved by all; yet ſure they will not ſay, it is ſo dreadful as Popiſh Tyranny. The Death of thirty or forty Men, great Taxes by Law and Conſent, I hope, are not to be compared with as great, and in time much greater Taxes and Impoſitions without or againſt Law (as it was in ſtretching the Chimny-Mony to Cottages of under-value, and ſoon would have been in other inſtances) or by Threats forcing and packing Parliaments, and at laſt without any Parliaments at

all;

all; and this to have brought in, and eſtabliſhed for ever, *Popery* and *Slavery*, and aſſiſted the moſt injuſt, oppreſſive, and Barbarous Prince in Chriſtendom againſt his Neighbours and People. This in ſhort;

But if you pleaſe I will ſet you down my Senſe more diſtinctly and orderly in ſome following Propoſitions; every one of which may be more largely explicated and proved by him who hath more time than I can now ſpare.

My principal Intention is to direct to a Method for a more fundamental and compleat Satisfaction, eſpecially to thoſe who are uneaſie till they ſee to the Bottom of a thing and are freed from any conſiderable Scruple. Nevertheleſs, when you are pleaſed to command me, I will endeavour, more at large to diſcourſe of one or more of theſe Propoſitions which may moſt want it, or be of moſt common uſe; and if I find my ſelf to have been too haſty, and affirmed any thing more than I upon ſecond thoughts ſhall perceive to be true, I do promiſe you moſt willingly to correct it.

The Propoſitions are theſe:

I. The one only Laſt End of all Being and Action, and conſequently the univerſal Law of Reaſon for them, is the greateſt and moſt durable Good of the Aggregate or Body of all Rational Beings; like as the End of All the Functions and Actions of each Member of our Bodies is the moſt Perfect and Pleaſurable State and Condition of the whole Man, Soul and Body.

II. As all Rational Agents are to extend their View to as much of this univerſal Body or Society as they can, ſo we Mortals to as much of Mankind.

III. Becauſe we know little alſo of other Portions of Mankind, we are principally to regard the greateſt Good of the Community to which we belong, and to direct our Actions to the attaining of that; except where we ſee it inconſiſtent with a greater Good of ſome greater Part of Mankind elſewhere. For Charity and Juſtice between Societies and Communities are to be exerciſed.

IV. Therefore it is the End of contriving, conſtituting, conſenting to a common Government, to a Community, as alſo the Kind, Laws and other Circumſtances of it.

V. That

V. That the Power of a Government may be neglected, lye Idle and not uſed, be abuſed; and that this neglect or abuſe, is to be eſtimated from the Good Effects omitted, and the Evil produced to a Community. In which, four Qualifications, and no more may be conſidered, *viz.* Their *Greatneſs*, *Extent*, *Conſtancy*, *Continuance or* Duration; in all which there are *various Degrees.*

VI. That as a very great deal ought to be tolerated and long born for the ſake of the *Publick Good*; ſo there may be ſuch *Neglect* or *Abuſe* in ſuch *Degree* of the forementioned *Qualifications*, that it may be *more for the Publick Good*, and *neceſſary* to *Oppoſe*, *Reſtrain*, and *ſometimes Change* the *Governours*, than permit them to *be*, and *do* what they pleaſe.

I know there are Perſons who have ventured to affirm the contrary; but they have in my Opinion ſtated Things ſo defectively, and ſaid many others ſo falſly or looſely, that it may ſeem they have not thought much and fairly of it; and indeed at laſt have Blundered, not Anſwered, which ſhould have been their principal care. Particularly, they frequently are miſtaken and overſeen in the oppoſition and comparing of Continuance of Governors and Reſiſtance; of Diſcontinuance and Anarchy. My meaning is, they ſay, if you'll continue and not change your Governors, you muſt in no caſe ever reſiſt them. And again, when ever you diſcontinue and remove them, you run into a perpetual or very long Anarchy; at leaſt ſo long, that it is a more intolerable Miſchief than the moſt Barbarous and Inhumane Tyranny, and that no Man knows how long. As if a Superior Governor might not be continued, and perhaps much the longer in Safety and Peace to himſelf and Subjects, if there be once any Oppoſition or Reſtraint in ſome very miſchievous and dangerous Deſign to the Community, and indeed to himſelf likewiſe; and that by the Greateſt, Wiſeſt, Beſt, nay, the Generality of it. Or as if upon every Diſcontinuance or Final Removal, a perpetual or very long Anarchy, or at leaſt a worſe than Tyranny, muſt always ſucceed, which is far from truth. For ſometimes Things may be ſo prepared, that there may be little or no Interval between the two Governors; and that which is, may be ſupplied eaſily and ſafely by inferiour Magiſtrates, or thoſe of greateſt intereſt and power in the Publick, as it was wiſely and happily done with us. Finally, For the moſt part, People ſoon fall into Government, and have

have new Governors, which as indeed it may be ſometimes far worſe than what they threw off; (we have for our Learning known that too) ſo it may be intirely better; which is our preſent caſe alſo.

But the mighty Objection againſt Reſiſtance and Change in the worſt caſe imaginable, is, — That it is a bad Example, which by propagating an Opinion and Practice, will ſhake and unſettle all Government; to which Miſchief, the greateſt Tyranny is not to be compared. I ſee not with what ſhew of Truth this can be ſaid of the Doctrin, as it is ſet down in the preſent and preceeding Propoſitions. Yes, ſay they, notwithſtanding that, People will make bad Application of it; be Judges themſelves, and confidently affirm, ſuch are the Miſchiefs to the Community which you mention, when there is no ſuch matter; and then take occaſion frequently to reſiſt and change when they ought not; *i. e.* plainly to Rebel, and be Traitors at every turn: So that it will be well if we live quietly a Year or two, and the Inhabitants of the Earth will be in perpetual Motion, as the Earth it ſelf is; but as this is regular, ſo that miſerably confuſed. To which we Anſwer;

1. Truth is not the leſs Truth, but will always be the ſame, howſoever falſly and baſely Men may apply or uſe it. We muſt mend Mens Manners, and accommodate them to Truth, not Truth to them; I mean its Belief, tho not always its Profeſſion or Publication. We muſt endeavour to bring into the World true Conſcience, Sincerity, Juſtice, Charity, Humility, a due Eſteem of Worldly Things, and above all *Self-denial*, and a *Publick Spirit governed by Prudence and Wiſdom.*

2. What a Contradiction is this Objection to the general Experience of the World? All Men, all at leaſt European Chriſtians, except ſome of late, who have (not very prudently) made *Univerſal Non-reſiſtance the diſtinguiſhing Character of the Church of* England *from all other Chriſtian Churches*, at leaſt *Romaniſts* and *Proteſtants*; I ſay, all theſe have and do believe *Reſiſtance in ſome extreme Caſes lawful*, and have practiſed accordingly when they could. And yet we have not heard of ſuch perpetual Diſſettlements, Changing, Overturning of Governments. How long have the *Venetian* Ariſtocracy, the *Spaniſh* and *French* Monarchies continued uninterrupted, with the opinion againſt Univerſal Irreſiſtibility? And the Diſturbances and Interruptions principally in this laſt, tho' a very moveable People, have been more from the pretences

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of Titles, or foreign Attempts of Conqueſt, than the opinion in Subjects of Reſiſtibility of Government. And thoſe which have happened upon account of Abuſes in Government, have been at long Intervals. This laſt Race in *France* hath now run out above 700 Years; nor have the Changes there made (ſuppoſe of *Chilperick* for *Pepin*, or of *Charles* Duke of *Lorrain*, only or principally becauſe he was thought more a Friend to the *Germans* than the *French*, for *Hugh Capet*) been judged the worſe for *France*, but abundantly for the better; and not only excuſed, but commended by their own Hiſtorians and Foreigners.

To theſe Examples, we may add that of our Neighbouring Eſtates and others enough; ſo that it ſeems, whatever the Abuſe of ſuch an Opinion may tend to, yet there are ways of preventing ſuch direful Effects without denying, or yet always concealing the Truth of it; tho' it may not be always neceſſary to trumpet it about, when we ſee a great Diſpoſition and opportunity to make uſe of it perniciouſly to the Publick Welfare. In ſhort, it ſeems that the late Aſſertors of *Univerſal Non-Reſiſtance* have not Read, or have not in their Zeal regarded the Hiſtory of all Nations, both in matter of Fact and Opinion; what the Generality of the Sobereſt and Wiſeſt of Mankind have ever done, and thought at the ſame time, they ought ſo do. Not as in other vices, where Mens own Judgments have condemned their own general Practice, which they would have as willingly defended, if they had dared, as they have done Reſiſtance and Change in ſome Caſes. Nor do I ſee Reaſon to think, that the ſame Authors have been ſo much more ſagacious or Fortunate than other Men, as to light upon ſuch ſenſe of Scripture, or ſome great Reaſon, which few others have thought of beſides themſelves.

3. That which is put under as the main ſupport of this objection, is peremptorily denied; namely, that there can be no *Civil Government*, at leaſt of any Continuance, unleſs there be a *Power* to decide without *Appeal* in all *Caſes* whatſoever, and to Execute *Irreſiſtibly*; to whoſe *Judgment All* muſt *Perpetually*, *Univerſally*, without any *Excepted* or *Reſerved Caſes*, ſubmit themſelves. *i. e.* To act according to its *Commands*, or to ſuffer any *Penalties* it ſhall think fit: I ſay this is certainly falſe; for all the World ſees the Contrary, as hath been juſt now ſhewn. And there are ſome Laws of Reaſon and Nature ſo plain and neceſſary, that Mankind neither ought nor need to give or permit any Man upon Earth, Power to Determine contrary to them if he pleaſeth,

or

or to force any to act againſt them; or upon refuſal, to inflict perhaps the ſevereſt Penalties and Puniſhments. No Man can juſtly conſent to leave it in any ones power, when he pleaſeth to deſtroy a Community, to Fire Cities, to Ruin its moſt innocent or uſeful Citizens, to ſend out of the World the moſt neceſſary, beneficial Members of the Commonwealth, to deliver up the Government into the Hands of a Foreign Tyrant, or to do ſuch things, by which it will inevitably follow. I ſay no Man can juſtly do this, if a Government limited by ſuch great Laws of Reaſon and Nature can any where be had. Mankind ought not to appoint and conſent to an abſolutely unlimited Power in Government, if a Government may be had with the Reſerves of the plain Laws of Nature, and the moſt evident Rules and Ends of Government: And that ſuch an one may be, is certain by the practice of all the moſt civil and knowing Nations upon Earth. There are Men enow in the World, who will accept of, nay are infinitely ambitious of it upon ſuch Terms. I do confeſs, if of neceſſity there muſt be ſuch a Boundleſs and Arbitrary Government, or none at all, it may fall under ſome debate which were beſt for Mankind; or perhaps the Queſtion may be determined for the firſt. But when the Queſtion is, when we may have an abſolutely boundleſs Government, or one with ſome Limitations and Reſerves, in great plain Caſes at leaſt, which is beſt to be choſen, 'tis too plain to admit of a Diſpute. And, if any Man hath conſented, nay ſworn to ſubmit and permit a Government ſo horribly to abuſe its Power when it pleaſeth, as is mentioned in the former Inſtances, and ſuch like, when he might have one which will not uſe it ſo: I do not ſee that he is under any other Obligation, than that of Recantation and Repentance, for having done that which is ſo pernicious to Mankind: The Good of which is the end of any ſort, according to particular Circumſtances, or of any Government at all.

4. Whatever the Objector may think, moſt Men do believe, that if this Doctrin of *Univerſal Non-reſiſtance* had been univerſally received and practiſed by Mankind, (as it never was nor will be; and which the Papiſts, tho they laughed at it themſelves, would have brought us to,) there would have been a far more lamentable Havock, or more miſerable condition of Human Race, than ever we yet ſaw, or heard of, by the almoſt univerſal Belief, and more univerſal Practice of ſome Reſiſtance in ſome extreme and extraordinary Caſes. For we ſee that the Abhorrence of the Good, and

the Fears of Self-defence and Revenge from the reſt (much leſs Conſcience) have not been able to reſtrain ſome, and even Chriſtians too in Profeſſion, from the conſtant courſe of the boldeſt and biggeſt Injuſtice and Cruelty; or from behaving themſelves in ſuch manner, as if all Mankind were made only to miniſter to the Gratification of their Luſts of Luxury, Pride and Malice; as if their Subjects were like their Dogs, maintained ſometimes very well, and made much of only for their Command and Sport.

Little Sir did I think to draw out this Article or Propoſition to this length when I began it; but ſince it is ſo, I hope it will do neither of us much harm to run it over, tho' I yet add a little more, as I now muſt.

In our particular caſe, let any man juſtly compare the *Good and Evil Conſequences of Non-reſiſtance, and of our preſent Change and Settlement.* What and how great had been the irremidiable miſchiefs of Permiſſion and Submiſſion we know enough, but cannot be now duly ſenſible of, unleſs we had for ſome time groaned under them all. But where in Reſiſtance and Change are the Inconveniences and Evil to ballance them? How little Diſturbance or Damage, except to King *James*'s Inſtruments and Dependents? What Content and Satisfaction now (as little as it may ſeem) comparatively to what was, or was like to be under King *James?* Some and too many Male-contents (and we know who are the principal cauſes, and will be the Gainers by it, among us) will ever be in the beſt State and Conſtitution, eſpecially at firſt after a Change. And yet not long ſince, how eaſily was an unfortunate Prince parted withal by ſuch themſelves as well as others, and another taken into the Adminiſtration of the Government? There neither yet are, or are like to be Sequeſtrations or Proſcriptions, except of ſome very Bad Men, by the Univerſal Voice; perhaps too few. We are not fallen into Anarchy or Confuſion: Pitcht Battles or Fights in *England* have been none. In *Scotland* and *Ireland* indeed a few Skirmiſhes and Sieges; nor is the firſt ſo well ſetled as may be deſired, and the Second hath ſuffered grievouſly. But in the firſt place we may thank in great part the Doctrin and Practice of Abſoluteneſs and Univerſal Non-reſiſtance for it. The Firſt provoked the *Scots* to a greater Change in the Church and State than otherwiſe they would have attempted, at leaſt with ſo much plauſible Pretence and Stiffneſs. The Second gave Confidence to King *James* and his Popiſh Counſellours to break through all Laws and Settlements, that they might extirpate the Proteſtant Religion,

ligion, and by an odious Inſtance of Treachery and Injuſtice, not eaſily parallel'd, bring the Bravery, Civility, Ingenuity of the *Engliſh* under the Domination of a contemptible and cruel People, both in *Ireland*, and *England* too. Beſides in *Scotland*, we hope they will ſoon be content with reaſonable things; and for *Ireland*, though their Sufferings are as great as injuſt, yet it is very probable, that the Brevity of them will make them appear very ſmall in compariſon with the loſs of Religion, Liberty, Property, or elſe of their Lives, both to themſelves, and the other Two Kingdoms, with their Poſterity for ever. Nor is it leſs to be hoped, that by the Bleſſing of God upon ſo juſt a Cauſe, (unleſs our Sins of Impiety, Ingratitude, Envy, Debauchery hinder,) all may be reſtored, without any very long War, or very great Expence of Lives or Treaſure: And this with a mighty Advantage, which without this Revolution, could not have been looked for; namely, the more perfect Subjugation and Civilizing of an Idle, Superſtitious and Cruel People, for many Centuries of Years, the Subjects of the *Engliſh* Crown, and the improvement of one of the Nobleſt Iſlands in the World. And we may reaſonably conjecture this to have been one End of the Divine Providence in this Turn, aud ſuffering Things to have gone ſo far there. Thus when we ſee there are not always ſuch Tragical Effects of Reſiſtance and Change of Government, as ſome have imagined, to be put into the Scale againſt the *Greateſt* and *General* Corruptions and Abuſes of it, *Preſent*, or certainly *Future* and *Perpetual*. Although had we by Reſiſtance purchaſed what we have and hope to have, and preſerved what we were certain to loſe, at Ten times a dearer rate, than we are like to do; I think we ſhould have been no Loſers by the Bargain. I am ſure we have ſome preſent Neighbours and Friends, who ſpent Many Millions of Mony, and loſt perhaps One of Men, in a War of near Eighty Years, to gain and ſecure the condition in which they now do, and may long flouriſh; and yet they do not think they have been Prodigal or Fooliſh. And how would ſome Men have vaunted, if they could have frighted us with a Twentieth part of ſuch an Expence? But Thanks to the undeſerved Goodneſs of Almighty God, we have had our Deliverance for almoſt nothing, and may enjoy a very Beautiful and Happy Conſtitution in Church and State, if we will not be our own Enemies, and like Children, firſt cut our own Fingers, and then cry out. And in truth, whereever Oppreſſion and Ill-uſage of Subjects have been truly ſuch *Great*, almoſt *Univerſal*, *Conſtant*, and

likely to be *perpetual* or *very long* (the Qualifications of Abuſes juſt before mentioned;) where *Extravagances* in Government have arrived at ſuch an heigth; *Reſiſtance* and *Alterations* have generally ſucceeded, and been advantagious to the People; they have been tenderly cenſured, and almoſt forgiven, even by thoſe who dare hardly quite excuſe them. But I will ſet it down to you conſequently to the former Propoſition, That,

VII. When this is truly and evidently the caſe, not only pretended, and by Cunning and Paſſion made to appear ſo: (as indeed hath too often been done, and ſometimes with ſucceſs,) then is a Man bound according to his ability, to reſtrain, hinder Governors, and, if it be neceſſary, to remove and change them.

VIII. That every Man here, as every where elſe, muſt fianlly judge for himſelf what is for the greateſt Good of the Community, and conſequently what he is to do, how to behave himſelf, which Part to take.

IX. That there are but three ways and means by which we may know what is moſt conducive to the greateſt Good of our Community, or ſometimes a greater part of Mankind.

And they are our own Prudence, Reaſon and Experience; or the Judgment of others; or a particular Revelation from God, as it happened ſometimes in the Kingdoms of *Iſrael* and *Judah*.

If God ſufficiently gives us to underſtand any particular Command of his, we may be well aſſured, that the execution of that Command is for the greateſt Good, and therefore our Duty.

As for Providence, I take to mean no more than God's abſolute actual Will and Determination, which certainly hath its Effect.

For Example, That ſuch a Prince *ſhall* be put out of his Throne, and another put in his Place and continued there; which Will we ought not to reſiſt or oppoſe, but concur with it.

Now to know whether God hath actually willed or determined any thing, we have no other means but ſome Evidence, That it is effective of the greateſt Good; and conſequently, that it is ſuitable to, and worthy of his Wiſdom and Goodneſs in the government of the World; and this we can have no otherwiſe than from our own view and ſight, or other Mens Judgment, or God's ſufficient particular Revelation.

X. But

X. But that to the generality of Men one of the beſt Arguments and Evidences to know what is moſt for the good of the Community at any time, is and ought to be the calm Opinion, and deliberate Judgment of the wiſeſt, honeſteſt and ableſt Men to judge in ſuch an Affair, and that principally of their own Community; a great, if not a major part of which, whoſe Judgments we can come to the knowledge of, are ſuch as have had a ſhare in the Government; that is, among us the Privy-Counſellors and Parliaments compoſed of the chiefeſt Clergy, Nobility and Gentry of the Realm, choſen freely by the People themſelves to repreſent them.

XI. That it was this way, and otherwiſe evident, that Oppoſition and Reſiſtance to King *James*'s Actions and Deſigns were abundantly more for the good of our Community, than Non-Reſiſtance would have been; *i. e.* had *Greater Good*, and *Leſs Evil Conſequences* attending upon it, both *Preſent* and *Future*, to our three Kingdoms, to Chriſtendom, and who knows how far it may go to that of Mankind?

This I believe few doubt, except Papiſts, and ſuch Papiſts too who think the worſt Religion of *Chriſtendom*, the moſt erroneous and cruel, to be ſuch a Bleſſing, for which all the juſt Privileges of Humane Nature (ſuch as Knowledge, Liberty, Property, Life it ſelf) are to be quitted and ſacrificed. But if any pleaſe to make this a diſtinct Controverſie, they may try by Retail and Particulars when they pleaſe.

XII. In the next place it is equally evident, that in our Circumſtances it was and is neceſſary for the ſame End to place and defend in the Throne their preſent Majeſties, and chearfully take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy to them, not unſeaſonably ſtanding upon a little Formality, when we may have the moſt material thing which we ſhould deſire; nor breaking for a Mode and Circumſtance which we could not in due time obtain, when we may have the End without it.

And upon this again, after all, depends the Deciſion of the Controverſie. For let any Man make it appear to me, That the *Oppoſition* to, and *Removal* of *King James*, ſuch as he was and would have been; or if you pleaſe, the keeping him out after he had deſerted us, and the *Succeſſion* of *King William* and *Queen Mary* hath or will have *more* or *greater Miſchievous* or *Evil Effects*, and *fewer* or *leſs Good Ones*, *Spiritual* and *Temporal*, *preſent* and *future*, to our

our three Nations, *Chriſtendom*, Mankind if you pleaſe (all this is, as far as we can, to be regarded) than the *contrary*, of *Abſolute Submiſſion* to, and *continuance* of *King James*: I ſay, Let this be made appear (and I will aſſure you I will not ſhut my Eyes, or look another way) then will I be, as I ought, a Proſelite and Convert. And when we have ſaid all we can, 'tis by this Rule, according to Mens various Apprehenſions and Applications of it, that all honeſt, not ſelfiſh Men are determined. All Authorities, Divine and Humane, are but more or leſs certain Signs and Marks whereby we may find and know this. Even the Commands of God himſelf do not *make*, but *ſuppoſe* a thing *right* and *juſt*, becauſe he is Omniſcient and Veracious, and, which is all one, that it is for the *greateſt univerſal Good*. And I more than gueſs, that one principal Reaſon why ſome Men ſtand off and comply not with the preſent Settlement, is, becauſe they fear Matters may be ſo carried, that the three Nations, all things conſidered, may in *their Opinion* be in a worſe Condition than they would have been if *King James* had ſtayed; either without, or at leaſt with ſome certain Conditions which they fancy they could have brought him to, and obliged him effectually to perform. And could they ſee otherwiſe, they would change their Conduct, and behave themſelves as others do. So truly would they themſelves act according to the Principles we have ſo much inſiſted on, as being to All Men moſt natural, without any Reproach or Suſpicion of Conſcience.

But I doubt not, if it be truly *Publick*, not *Private* or *Particular Intereſt* they regard, their Opinions and their Fears are untrue and groundleſs too: Or if in part it ſhould prove ſo, they themſelves will be in great meaſure the cauſe of it.

XIII. You may be pleaſed yet farther to obſerve, That all which hath been ſaid in the former Propoſition, may be applied to our Caſe, and juſtifie the Proceedings of Parliament and People, tho' we ſhould ſuppoſe K. *James* to have been himſelf legally poſſeſt of all the parts of Government; i. e. *Legiſlative*, *Interpretative*, *Applicative* and *Executive*; but yet abuſing it as he did and would have done. But if it be ſuppoſed, as it is moſt truly (for all that I have heard) that King *James* had but *part* of the Legiſlative Power, and that his Executive was but co-extended with the Legiſlative in our Conſtitution; *i. e.* it was to execute, not neglect, lay aſide, act without or contrary to Laws; nor was it ever intended otherwiſe by the Law-makers, King and Parliament (for which a Man need

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no farther appeal, I dare ſay, than to the Conſciences of the moſt ſcrupulous) nor conſequently were our Oaths in any other ſenſe required by them, or obliging to us: I ſay, If this be ſuppoſed, then our caſe is extreamly plain; and that there hath been no Reſiſtance againſt Government, but only againſt Uſurpation; and that King *James* not being willing to give ſufficient Security for the Uſe of this Executive Power according to Law, and no otherwiſe, he muſt be forſaken, and ſome other taken into his room who will and can, or needs not. Nor is there any other who can with any ſhew of Right and Juſtice pretend to it better than their preſent Majeſties.

XIV. Finally, we all believe, except Papiſts, and ſome few others awkward and as it were revengefully ſevere Perſons to exact more than they think can be produced, or to an indifferent Man is needful, That their Majeſties King *William* and Queen *Mary* had in their Order (the Tranſpoſition or Coalition Matters little being by free Conſent on all hands) a perſonal Right to the Reverſion of the Crown after King *James*'s Deceaſe; and we know that in the Judgment of an upright Judge and Jury they were moſt injuriouſly thruſt out of it without any Hopes of Redreſs, Reſtitution, or Satisfaction; nay their very Heads were in great danger from a ſort of wicked People who bogled at nothing, becauſe they ſtood ſo near to the Throne. Whence we muſt conclude, that nothing ought to be an Hindrance from their Recovery of their Right from K. *James*, and preſerving themſelves, (the Nation was almoſt univerſally willing) by Force, but ſome *great Publick Miſchief* enſuing upon it; and that *greater* than their *Satisfaction* and *Reſtitution* of their *Right* and their *Self-Preſervation* would have been a *Good* Nothing elſe can debar or diſſeize a Man of his Property, and Right of Self-Preſervation. But their Majeſties Succeſſion was ſo far from being a Miſchief, that it was infinitely more Beneficial and Happy to theſe Nations, *&c.* than that which was deſigned to pop into their Place, in the Judgment of all but Papiſts. So that their Majeſties Perſonal Right and Safety, and the Publick Welfare, are moſt happily all taken care of in the Securing of their Rights and Lives, which could not be any other way done ſufficiently (for References and Arbitrations were refuſed) without preſent Poſſeſſion; as might be eaſily ſhewn.

So then for the Juſtification and Defence of King *William*'s and Queen *Mary*'s Poſſeſſion of the Throne, we have the Law of Nature,

ture, the Law of our Nation, and the Law of all Nations (*viz.* To do Juſtice to them, and to ſecure to them their perſonal Rights of Succeſſion) all concurring together. And ſuch a threefold Cord well twiſted cannot be broken.

Thus far, and in ſuch manner, pure Reaſon of it's ſelf I think may lead us without the Aſſiſtance, or Hindrance, or Conſideration of any Authority, Divine or Humane.

XV. Now for Teſtimony or Authority, and that which is Divine in the firſt place. I do not think the Scripture in any place teacheth or commandeth Non-Reſiſtance univerſally, or in all Caſes abſolutely without Exception: and where it doth ſeem to affirm it, It muſt be ſo interpreted as not to contradict any plain, much leſs the *Firſt and great Law of Nature* which is *God's Law* alſo.

XVI. For ſuch a Reaſon it is, that all Men agree to interpret many places only ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ or *generally*, tho' the words ſeem to ſignifie *univerſally*. Thus the Negative Precept, *Thou ſhalt not ſteal*, i. e. take away any Man's Property without his conſent, uttered in Terms univerſal, yet hath it's Limitation. For who doubts but that a Man in extream and preſent Diſtreſs may lawfully take that which is neceſſary for his Life, though it ſhould be refuſed by a ſurly and hard hearted Houſekeeper? or that when a Street or City is in great danger from Fire, one Houſe or two may be blown up to prevent it, againſt the Will of the Owner, before any Law provides for ſuch a Caſe, or takes away the Property? It is a poſitive Command alſo expreſſed more univerſally than Non-Reſiſtance, (Tit. 2. 9.) *That Servants be obedient to their Maſters, and to pleaſe them well in all things.* What! Were they to furniſh a Maſter with a Sword in his Paſſion or Fury? Or might they not take it away from him againſt his Will, or hold his Hands, leſt they ſhould diſpleaſe him? It is added in the ſame place, *Not anſwering again or gain-ſaying.* What not ſo much as with due Meekneſs to ſay they were innocent, when fiercely and falſely accuſed, and when ſilence would ſeem to acknowledg Guilt, and betray their own Innocency and perhaps that of others too? Nor is there any more expreſs Command contrary to theſe in the Scriptures, than to that of Non-Reſiſtance, to ſignifie their Limitation, but only by conſquence. For where is it ſaid, Thou maiſt ſteal in ſome Caſes,

Caſes, any more than thou mayſt reſiſt? Nor doth it ſeem agreeable to the Spirit of Charity and Equity, which the Goſpel enjoyns Superiors as well as Inferiors, to permit no other Reſtraint of the moſt extream Cruelty, than an after reckoning to the Ignorant, Infidels, or Senſeleſs, and conſequently let loſe the Reins to Barbarity. And I think it is a remarkable Inſtance of the Wiſdom and Excellency of Chriſtian Religion above others that it hath diſcountenanced and forbidden that great Inequality and Domination (as between Husbands and Wives, Maſters and Servants, Parents and Children, &c.) which for ſome particular Reaſons and Circumſtances were commanded or permitted even in the *Jewiſh* Commonwealth; and ſetled the Duties of Relations according to the Univerſal Standard of natural Reaſon and Juſtice. Poligamy and Slavery are baniſhed out of the Chriſtian World, and ſo ſhould all Artificial Differences between Men which are not reaſonable and natural.

XVII. To mention briefly particular places of Scripture brought to prove Univerſal Non-reſiſtance, and the principal of them; That of our Saviours Words and Examples was only in caſe of a private Injury, and where Suffering was expreſly deſigned and commanded to him by God.

That of St. *Paul* (*Rom.* 13. the great ſuppoſed Defence of the Cauſe) contains only a Precept concerning Government in general, and the Lawfulneſs, nay Obligation upon *Jews* and ſome Chriſtians, eſpecially the converted *Jews* who were of a contrary Opinion, to be ſubject to the Government of an Heathen. St. *Paul* ſpeaks of *Sorts* or *Kinds* of Governors, not of *Individuals*, and particularly *Heathen Governors* under which the *Jews* and Chriſtians lived.

It is moſt probable he ſpeaks of ſorts of Governors, and particularly Heathen (*1ſt.*) Becauſe he writes his Epiſtle to thoſe amongſt whom were ſome at leaſt, who really doubted or denied that they ought to be ſubject to a Heathen Governor for Conſcience ſake, but only for Wrath, *i. e.* for Fear, till they could throw him off. This is too well known to be here proved; but whether there were any Chriſtians amongſt the *Romans*, who did doubt or deny Univerſal Non-reſiſtance to every particular lawful Governour, though never ſo Tyrannical, Malicious and Cruel; this doth not appear. Whether this was a Scruple or Controverſy then or there moved, we know not; at leaſt there is not

ſuch Proof of it as of the Former. For my part it looks moſt likely to me, that the Apoſtle never thought of any ſuch matter.

But (2d.) the Reaſon which the Apoſtle brings for Subjection to the Higher Powers, is very true and good, if by *Higher Powers* he means all ſorts and kinds of Government; and more particularly *That* in which a Heathen was the Supream Governor, and ſome *Jews* and Chriſtians were Inhabitants in his Dominions. The Apoſtle's Reaſon is, becauſe *Rulers are not a Terrour to Good, but Evil Works*, &c. Even ſuch a Government, where an Heathen or Gentile hath the Supream Power, may and doth more generally in reſpect of Times and Perſons; *i. e.* moſt commonly and to moſt of its Subjects, give more countenance and encouragement to Good Works, than Bad ones; and therefore Obedience to ſuch a ſort of Governors is not only Lawful, but a Duty: Nay tho' thro' Ignorance or Malice they might Perſecute the true Religion; Yet being Men of good Tempers and Morals, having much of Goodneſs, Juſtice and Prudence in their Natures (ſuch as was *Trajan* and the two *Antonines*,) they would encourage extreamly to the Practice of ſuch, and other Virtues by their Examples and Laws, preſerve their Subjects from the miſchief of Immoralities, and keep them in Order, Peace and Sobriety. But is it true where and when Tyrants, (Uſurpers or not) Govern contrary to almoſt all the ends of Government? Some of which have been truly accounted, not only the conſtant Perſecutors of the Beſt Men for the beſt Actions; but alſo Enemies of Mankind, *Hoſtes humani generis*, as *Nero* was by the Senate itſelf at laſt; and this not only in Intention, but Action; not only in the Malice of the Heart, but cruelty of the Hand and Act: Are the Apoſtle's Words, I ſay, here true? Yes, ſay ſome, they are. Is it true I ſay that the worſt of Higher Powers, or *individual Supream Governours*, that ever was extant, was generally more for the encouragement of Good than Bad Works? As it would be very hard to run through the particular Proof of it, if it could be done at all; ſo in the mean time I think few believe it. For ſuppoſe an abſolute Superior Governor, whoſe Will is the only Law, who wallows in all ſenſuality himſelf, and propagates it by his Example, Commendation, Reward, thro' his Territories; (this is too ſoon done, eſpecially where they are not large,) who beſtows Places of Profit, Dignity and Truſt upon the Miniſters of his Luſts and Violence only; who transfers all Mens Properties as he pleaſeth to Himſelf, his Favourites or

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Dependents, who upon every Trifle, ſuſpicious Denial of Execution or Approbation of his wicked Commands, or to bring their Eſtates into his Exchequer, Bids them leave their Country or their Lives; and this generally, ſo that it may be hard to inſtance in ſome few good Actions; ſuppoſe ſuch a Governor or *Higher Power*; can any Man ſay with Hopes of Belief, that *it is not a Terrour to Good but Evil Works*? that *it gives Praiſe to them that do well*? &c. Every one knows that this Suppoſition is not a bare poſſibility; but hath been actually true of many of the Roman Emperors for at leaſt ſome part of their Reign. Was ſuch a Governour as *Nero* likely to be a Miniſter of God for good; who, if he had been aſſured of Univerſal Non-reſiſtance, would not only out of Frolick or Malice made Bonfires of *Rome*, which he attempted, but alſo of all the noble Cities of the Empire? Who would not only have wiſh'd, but made in ſome manner one Neck for *Rome*, that ſo he might have had a Hang-mans Office worthy of an Emperor? Nor is it to be returned, that ſtill *Government*, in all the time of theſe Emperors, was a greater encouragement to Good works than Bad ones generally, *viz.* to Juſtice, Peaceableneſs, *&c.* For beſides, that this upon examination may not prove true, taking in all ſorts of good works, it is not to the purpoſe; for the Queſtion is, *whether the Government was ſuch by their Means*, by what they were and did; not by them only as an occaſion, filling the Throne, and preventing Anarchy, but by them as Agents. The Apoſtle ſpeaks of *ſome Acting*; which *ſome* becauſe it cannot be true of all *Individuals*, or *Perſonal Higher Powers*, but it may of ſome *Sorts* or *Kinds*, and particularly *Heathen*; therefore he ſpeaks of the *Latter* in this place, but not of the *Former*. This I am ſure of, that it is more certain that ſome, or the generality even of *Gentile* Governors, were more a Terror to Bad than Good Works, &c. than that every individual Supream Governor or Government under them was ſo. And conſequently it is more probable, that the Apoſtle ſpeaks of *Kinds* of Government or Higher Powers; and particularly *one Kind*, viz. *Heathen*, than of Individuals; or he ſpeaks of Governors *in Specie*, not *in Individuo*.

There is alſo another Reaſon in the Text it ſelf, to prove that the Apoſtle by *Higher Powers*, means not *all Individual Supream Governors*; and that is, becauſe he calls *All the Higher Powers* the *Ordinance of God not to be reſiſted*. What then are Uſurpers too, the Higher Powers not to be reſiſted? It hath been ſaid to this, that by Higher Powers is meant *Lawful Higher Powers*, *i. e.* thoſe who

are ſo by a good Title, tho' not in Poſſeſſion. But is not this *gratis dictum*? where are thoſe *Powers by Title* called the *Higher Powers*, when there are others in their Place by *Poſſeſſion* and *Exerciſe* of the Supream Government?

Again, Suppoſe a *Tyrant* in the greateſt degree to be the *Higher Powers*, both by *Title* and *Poſſeſſion*, is the *Ordinance of God not to be reſiſted*? No. For firſt, an Ordinance of God imports naturally ſomething that is very beneficial, at leaſt in the ſum of its effects and conſequences Good, and that in the ordinary view of Men; not remotely by the conduct of the Univerſal Providence of God bringing Good out of Evil, as is uſually ſaid. And it is manifeſt that the Apoſtle here means ſuch a thing by an *Ordinance of God*; becauſe he inſtances in the moſt uſeful and excellent effects thereof. But ſuppoſe the Apoſtle here might call ſomething viſibly and ordinarily moſt miſchievous (as ſurely ſome Governors may be) an ordinance of God; becauſe it was a thing poſitively appointed, determined, ordained by God. Is this ſuch an Ordinance *which may not be* reſiſted? Let the Caſe be, that God had abſolutely decreed to ſet up a Power over a People intirely to ruin or deſtroy them, ſuppoſing the People not to be certainly aſſured of ſuch a Decree; (for example by a particular Revelation,) doth it follow that they are bound to be Deſtroyed without any Oppoſition? No more than if upon Suppoſition God had determined I ſhould be Robbed or Killed by Wicked Men, I ſhould be to blame to defend my ſelf againſt them.

If a Man have moſt certain Knowledge of ſuch an abſolute Determination and Sentence of God againſt him, for all that I ſee, he ought not oppoſe his Will any more (nor ſo much) as a Malefactor the moſt juſt Sentence of the Magiſtrate: But how ſhall he come by that? To me it is a very general Rule, That a Man cannot be certain God would not have him endeavour to remove any Evils he lies under, till he hath put it out of his Power, or given him ſome undoubted Revelation.

We have heard from ſome, that Robbery is no Ordinance of God at all; but *Government* is: that's not the juſt Compariſon. It ought to be thus; between a Perſon furniſhed with Arms for the Defence of a Village or Travellers, from thoſe who would miſchief them; but uſing them to Plunder or Kill; and a Governor abuſing his Power to ſuch Purpoſes. To furniſh the Man with Arms for ſuch good Ends, is an Ordinance of God, though in an inferior degree; *i. e.* a thing which he approves and commands as he doth

all

all good things: But the Abuſe of thoſe Arms, and the Perſon abuſing them are none.

In like manner, that a Prince ſhould be endued with Power to defend and protect and benefit his Subjects, is an Ordinance of God; but that there ſhould be one to oppreſs them, and do that to them, from which he ſhould defend them; this is not in any other ſenſe than the former. And as the Villagers and Travellers may uſe lawful Means to deliver themſelves from the Robber; ſo for all that I ſee, may a People from ſuch a Governor. For this hath no more Right to Deſtroy his Subjects, than the Armed Man Travellers. The Compariſon may be more particularly ſtated; but this is enough.

So alſo we are well aſſured, that God Ordains and ſends Plague, Famine, *&c.* for ſome Mens Correction, others Deſtruction, though we do not know certainly whoſe; may not all therefore ſerve themſelves of all lawful Means for their Removal? Nay according to ſome Mens Reaſoning, all means are Unlawful. Thoſe I mean who ſay in the Caſe of Non-reſiſtance, that therefore it is not lawful, becauſe thereby we take God's Rod out of his Hand. If they mean that thereby we always rudely and irreverently behave our ſelves to God, they mean well; but ſay not true. For it may be done with acknowledgement of our own ill Deſerts, and great Thankfulneſs to God, who hath put into our unworthy Hands opportunities and Means of Deliverance from the greateſt Miſery and Calamities both to Body and Soul. And it is known where it hath been ſo done, and where it would be in like manner.

It is a frequent Miſtake among well-meaning Chriſtians, to be ſo taken with, and addicted to one or more Chriſtian Graces, as to know no Limitation by any circumſtances; whereas the Chriſtian Religion manifeſtly commands the Love of God, and univerſal Charity and Juſtice to Mankind, the Service of God and the World, in the Firſt place, which muſt give Rules and ſet Bounds to the Exerciſe of all other Virtues whatſoever.

So it is that ſome Monkiſh Men have extravagantly magnified eſpecially the Suffering or Aſcetick Virtues of Mortifications, Faſtings, Patience, Forbearance, *&c.* As in truth on the other hand, Licentious, Proud and Senſual Men would never find any time nor occaſion to practiſe them. A *Mean* between both theſe, where *theſe Virtues* are regulated and governed by *Prudence* and *Charity* is certainly the *Right Way*; and that which takes off the

too

too common and contemptuous Reproach or Suſpicion of Superſtition and Folly from the *Chriſtian Religion*, and recommends it to the Approbation of the moſt generous and wiſe.

After this, what if it be farther ſaid that ſometimes God may ſet up a bad Governor on purpoſe that he might be reſiſted?

This is far from an Impoſſibility. For neither Reaſon nor Revelation hath told us ſo, that I know; nay ſometimes it may be more probable by both. Why may not God peremptorily ordain an uſurping Tyrant over a People not only to puniſh their Vices, and particularly their Ingratitude too, and Rebellion againſt a good Govenment; but alſo to give an opportunity for a brave Example of Wiſdom, Induſtry, Courage, Zeal for God's Religion, and Relief and Deliverance of their Country; as alſo to let them ſee the vaſt difference between good and bad Maſters, and ſo prevent Diſcontent and vaſt deſire of Change? Muſt we here ſit ſtill alſo with cros'd Arms and dejected Eyes? Are we not rather obliged to comply with, and execute the Ends of ſuch God's Ordinance?

Finally, to conclude this Matter. Suppoſe at laſt we ſhould grant that which I think falſe, That the Apoſtle ſpeaks of all individual Governors, and of the worſt too, I would ſay, That the Command of Non-Reſiſtance is but general, ὡς τὸ πολὺ at moſt, not abſolutely univerſal in all Caſes without any Exception and Reſerve; As in the places in the former Article inſtanced, and in others which may be produced. And I believe, I could give ſuch a Rule for the juſt Interpretation of ſuch Scriptures, as may, if followed, prevent the Abuſes and ill Conſequences of ſuch an Affirmation.

No body is to learn, That the material Part of the Chriſtian Precepts of Patience, Forbearance, Forgiveneſs (much of kin to this of Non-Reſiſtance) *i. e.* to ſuffer harm wrongfully, to delay, to omit to puniſh the Wrong-doers, run in as univerſal Terms as that of Non-Reſiſtance: yet nevertheleſs they have their Limitations, and that in ſome Caſes we ought not to bear, forbear, or forgive all private Injuries.

And that it muſt be ſo taken here; I think is manifeſt (whatever ſome have talked) from the Argument of Non-Reſiſtance; namely, That the *Higher Powers* (ſuppoſe individual ones) *are not a Terror to Good Works, but the Evil.* For the Argument is as good, and will go as far, for Reſiſtance, Alteration or Change, whenever that Reſiſtance, &c. may (as no doubt but ſometimes they

they may) be the Cauſe that a Government be in far greater Degree for a Praiſe to Good and Terror to Bad Works. The *Roman* Government under *Tiberius*, and the three ſucceeding *Emperors* in ſome part of their Reigns would undoubtedly have proved a greater Encouragement to the Good, and Terror to the Evil, had they been effectually reſtrained in *ſome* of their witcked Actions; or had the *Senate* been joyned with them in the *Legiſlative Power*; or finally, had any of them been changed for a *Veſpaſian*. Wherefore thoſe *Higher Powers* were then to be reſiſted, altered or changed by this very Argument, ſo far as it reacheth. That is, It is to prevail and perſwade upon Suppoſition (as it ought to be in all Arguments for any Action from one ſingle good Effect of it only) that there were no greater Inconveniences and miſchievous Conſequences of Reſiſtance, &c. on the other ſide to overballance it.

Now it is not to be doubted that ſuch a Caſe may fall out *ſometimes*, and if it doth fall out ſo ſometimes only, but generally the contrary, the Apoſtle's ſame Argument muſt be againſt Reſiſtance ἐπὶ τὸ πολύ, or generally; and even for it ſometimes in ſome Caſes.

Generally ſpeaking, or for the moſt part, either Higher Powers are much more a Terror to evil Works than to good ones; or if they be not, yet the Miſchiefs of Reſiſtance or Change may be ſo very many and great, that all Effects conſidered, it may be better to be ſubject to them, and that in great ſuffering, than by Force to reſiſt, or to attempt to alter the Government, or change the Governors. But ſometimes it may not be ſo: And then Reſiſtance is not only lawful, but, by reaſon of this Precept here given, commanded. And the Argument of the Apoſtle is far from Childiſh when it concludes generally, with ſome poſſible Exceptions.

We do not find, that I remember, that the contumelious uſage of *Nero* by the Senate and people of *Rome* was ever condemned by the Chriſtians. He was, while yet alive, voted an Enemy, and to be puniſhed *more Majorum*, according to the Cuſtom of their Anceſtors, *i. e.* To be whipp'd to Death naked in a Pillory. This is a ſign, That if they did think that the Apoſtle commanded Subjection to all individual Governors, and even to *Claudius* and *Nero*; yet they were of opinion likewiſe, That *Nero*'s Wickedneſs was grown to that Height, as to be intolerable and the Caſe not reached by or fallen under the Apoſtle's Precept. *Nero* himſelf

ſelf was in his celebrated *Quinquennium*, (in the firſt or ſecond year of which this Epiſtle is thought to have been written) generally ſpeaking, not to be reſiſted; but he might and did arrive at ſuch a pitch of Careleſneſs of Government, and Cruelty in it, that he was no longer to be born. All the Miſchiefs that might follow upon his removal were not comparable to thoſe of his Continuance.

1. It hath been ſaid yet farther to avoid this, That the Words of the Apoſtle, *Rulers are not a Terror*, &c. are not an Argument but a Motive to abſolute and univerſal Submiſſion. As if a Motive were not an Argument, *i. e.* the good Effects of any Action were not a Reaſon to prove we ſhould do it. Contrarywiſe all Reaſons whatſoever are taken from thence either immediately or mediately. Even the Commands of God are for this Reaſon to be cheerfully obeyed; becauſe we are ſure that coming from infinite Wiſdom and Goodneſs, the obſervation of them in ſum is beneficial to the World; tho' we may not always particularly ſee it, and therefore acceptable to himſelf. And it may be truly ſaid, That tho' the whole Creation be comparatively not ſo much as an Atom to God: yet he is pleaſed not to ſeek his own Glory, without Regard to the greateſt Good of the Creation which he governs.

Yea, but (2) The Apoſtle's Argument here for univerſal Non-Reſiſtance is becauſe *Higher Powers* are the *Ordinance of God*. What then? May not their being *a Terror to evil Works* be an Argument likewiſe? Becauſe one is an Argument is another not? May not there be two Arguments for one thing? Nay, The Ordinance of God is therefore an Argument, becauſe it ſuppoſeth the other of a *Terror to Evil Works*, or ſome other good Uſes and beneficial Effects, as has been juſt now mentioned.

But ſtill (3.) What if by *Good and Evil Works* St. *Paul* means not Good and Evil ones in general, among which are Subjection and Rebellion too; but only the particular ones of *Obedience* and *Diſobedience*, or of *Non-Reſiſtance* and *Reſiſtance* excluding, all others beſides? As if the Apoſtle had ſaid, Do not dare to reſiſt the Higher Powers; becauſe if you do, they puniſh and perſecute you; if you do not, they will protect and favour you.

Why truly (1.) If any one expounds the Words in ſuch manner, it is more than I know if there be another of that mind.

And (2) the very Verſe brought to favour this new Expoſition is a far better Proof of the ordinary Senſe. The Words are,

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Wherefore you muſt needs be ſubject not only for Wrath, but Conſcience ſake. The moſt eaſie and natural ſignification whereof refer'd to the precedent Verſes is, That you ought not to be ſubject only for your own ſakes, and particularly to avoid Puniſhment, (which the worſt Men may do) but alſo for the ſake of God and Men; becauſe it is an acceptable Duty to God, and beſt for Mankind. But if by *Good Works* we underſtand only one ſort, and particularly *Abſolute Obedience*, or at leaſt *Univerſal Reſiſtance*; then the whole Senſe will be, You ought to be ſubject not only to avoid Puniſhment, but alſo out of Duty and Obedience to God. Now the firſt ſenſe is far more probable, becauſe then the Apoſtle's Argument will be more full for Subjection; and indeed comprehenſive of all that can be brought for any Command. Due Subjection is our Duty to God, moſt beneficial for the World, ſafe and advantageous for our ſelves. The ſecond ſenſe is leſs probable, becauſe the middle Part of the Argument will be left out.

Finally the Words in the 4*th* and 6*th* Verſes, that thoſe higher Powers are the *Miniſters of God for Good*, *Miniſters to Revenge*, and *Miniſters of God* in general; theſe, I ſay, are the ſame Argument, and of the ſame Importance with their being *not a Terror to Good Works, but to Evil ones*, &c. But are theſe the Miniſters of God only in puniſhing or protecting Rebellion or Submiſſion to themſelves? Are they not alſo to be his Miniſters, in doing the like to many other Evil and Good works, which regard Mens Selves and their Neighbours; ſuch as Intemperance, unnatural Luſts, Injuſtice, Murder, Theft, and their contrary Virtues? It follows in Verſe 6, *attending continually upon this very thing.* What! Do the Higher Powers mind nothing but the Correction and Protection of Reſiſtance or Non-reſiſtance? Thus then the general and moſt received ſenſe of Good and Evil Works, is without compare more probable than the new reſtrain'd and confin'd one is; and if it be ſo, if there be not neceſſity, yet I am ſure there is great Reaſon we ſhould take it. But here again I forget my ſelf, and am drawn much beyond what I intended, and therefore I forbear to examine any farther, what is by ſome diſcourſed from this place and St. *Peter*, for proof of Univerſal Non-reſiſtance, and as eaſily anſwered. For my Deſign was only to preſent a Train of ſome Propoſitions, and very briefly note an Objection or two for an Example, and to hint what might be an-

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ſwered, leaving it to every one to enlarge as he pleaſed Objections and Anſwers too.

XVIII. After Divine Teſtimony conſidered, I am leſs ſollicitous concerning Human Authorities. But yet in my opinion, to moſt of thoſe which have been of late preſt together for the Service of Univerſal Non-reſiſtance, theſe Things may be return'd.

(1.) That they are to be underſtood when Men, and that not the major part of the Community neither (for, notwithſtanding *Tertullian*'s *omnia implevimus*, Chriſtians in his time were not perhaps much more than an Hundredth part of the Subjects to the Roman Empire) are perſecuted for their Perſuaſion in a Religion not eſtabliſhed by the Laws of the Country, but ſometimes contrary to them; and when conſidered as Chriſtians, or of any other Religion contrary to the Laws of the Government; not as Citizens or Members of the Commonwealth, *i. e.* Chriſtians, as Chriſtians, meerly for their Religion, were not to reſiſt the Higher Powers: Tho' perhaps as Citizens, that is, for all their Privileges, Liberties, Enjoyments of Men put together, Religious, Civil *&c.* there might be a Time when they might; if theſe were *all*, and in *very great meaſure*, and *conſtantly*, and probably *for ever* to be taken from them by a Government.

(2.) Many of the Teſtimonies for Non-reſiſtance are to be underſtood, when the Injury from the Government, tho' never ſo great, is done to one or few Private Perſons.

(3.) The Authors mean generally ἐπὶ τὸ πολύ, not univerſally, whatever their Expreſſions ſeem to ſignifie.

Or (4.) If they have affirmed univerſally, It hath been upon the occaſion of ſome Parties unreaſonable Reſiſtance, when the cauſe would not bear it, as Papiſts, and the other Extream; and out of a very paſſionate Reſpect for Governors, or an inflamed Zeal againſt Pretences and inſufficient Cauſes. Which two Paſſions, and perhaps Experience and preſent ſenſe of great Miſchiefs and Inconveniences of Reſiſtance, have wholly poſſeſt them; ſo that they have thought not of, or perhaps heard of, or have not been able well to perceive, and truly to judge of the many and good Effects of Reſiſtance in ſome particular Caſes; or of the numerous and great Evil ones of *abſolute Univerſal Submiſſion to Tyranny*, of which as yet they have had no Senſe and Experience;

rience; they have never lived in *Turky* or *France*, nor ſeen the Sufferings of others, nor felt the Smart themſelves. For ſo we every where may obſerve, that *Things preſent* do moſt affect, and have greatly the Advantage, even of paſt, and once known; but much more of future and untried. And for the ſame reaſon it is, that when Men are ſorely preſt with two or three great Inconveniences in Government, they preſently cry out, To Arms, or fly to violent Courſes.

If there be any thing more to expound or excuſe ſome Authors, I believe you your ſelf, Sir, will as ſoon light upon it as another Man.

And (5,) I have been told that there are far more, and more weighty Authorities on the contrary ſide. For as for the Primitive Fathers, they never thought expreſly of, or ſtated diſtinctly the Controverſy of an abſolute Univerſal Non-reſiſtance by the whole Senate, Armies and People; but have only ſpoken in general Terms, or perhaps either by direct Words, Conſequence or Actions, have ſhewn ſometimes their opinion againſt it. And here you may pleaſe to conſult the more skilful; for I ſuſpect there hath been ſome more Noiſe than Truth in this matter. But as for the reſt of ſome Centuries of Years hitherto, I have heard from all hands, that all the Learned of the Roman Church, Civilians, Canoniſts, Schoolmen, Commentators, *&c.* All Foreign Proteſtants, *Lutherans*, *Calviniſts*, &c. at leaſt generally: Nay, even the moſt ſtudied and impartial Men in our own Church, ſuch as *Bilſon*, *Hooker*, &c. either directly, or by neceſſary conſequence, have allowed ſome Caſes of Reſiſtance. Indeed they rarely happen and I wiſh they never might again, and ſuch an one ours was. Only of late, many have ſpoken very peremptorily againſt it; I hope moſt out of too much heat againſt a ſort of Men on the other ſide, rather than any ill Deſign or Self-end. Nor do I ſee reaſon yet to believe, that all the Moderns, and all for many Ages paſt, have departed from the Doctrin of the Scripture and Primitive Church beſides themſelves. And thus much of Human Authority in the preſent Diſpute. This, as I am not wholly led by it; ſo when it is very numerous, and almoſt Univerſal, I am apt to ſuſpect always ſome Flaw or overſight in my own Reaſoning, if contrary to it.

After all now which hath been ſaid againſt *abſolutely Univerſal Irreſiſtibility*; we ought here eſpecially to remember the Apoſtolical

Admonition, φρονεῖν εἰς τὸ σωφρονεῖν, to be Modeſt and Prudent with our Knowledge and in our Opinion; neither to be vain with it nor ill uſe it; that it prove not a Temptation to Pride or Miſchief. It is diligently to be inculcated into Men, That the Caſes of Reſiſtance are very few and rare, and that it is an hundred to one, That the Attempts, Undertakings, Motions of the Ignorant, Diſcontented, Ambitious, Factious, Selfiſh, whoſe End is not the publick Welfare, but themſelves and their Party, are not in that very ſmall number. That therefore they are not to be raſh, nor ſoon led away; but to be truly honeſt, wary and wiſe, and to have great Regard to thoſe, whom according to their beſt Information they judge to be ſo.

Eſpecially Men of Parts, Leiſure and Truſt in the Government; and above all, the Prince and chief Miniſters of State, ought to give themſelves to the Conſideration and Underſtanding of the *true Perfections of Human Nature*; the Merits and juſt Intereſts of all ſorts and conditions of Men in a Commnnity; what they contribute to the *Publick Good*, and *what* therefore ſhould be their *Privileges* and *Rewards*. To the *Good*, I ſay, of Men *Spiritual*, *Temporal* and *Eternal*. And in the firſt place, the Safety, Honor, Authority and Power of Governors in their reſpective places are carefully to be provided for, as being in my opinion appointed and conſtituted by Revelation and Reaſon, God and Nature, not only for the ſake of a few paultry Commodities of this Life, but for all the Ends mentioned. Nor do I ſee it for the common Good of Mankind, That their Power ſhould be confined, as ſome Men would have it, and as a late foreign Author affirms with more Eloquence than Evidence. A Government is then beſt and moſt durably eſtabliſhed, when all Mens natural and juſt Rights are beſt known and duly diſtributed and ſecured. There it is that Governours love and cheriſh their Subjects; and Subjects inwardly Eſteem, Honor, and heartily obey their Governors even in the moſt difficult and tedious Commands and Services. There it is, if any where, that all live virtuouſly, charitably and peaceably.

And now, Sir, I have according to your Commands acquainted you afreſh with my Thoughts in this matter with all the freedom and openneſs I am capable of; and I hope alſo with no more than what the preſent Age will bear, and even the greateſt not take as coming from any Undutifulneſs, or want of profound Reſpect for

for thoſe to whom I unfeignedly wiſh a long and happy Reign; all Safety, Honor and Proſperity.

And it may probably take off and prevent a great Prejudice in ſome, who are leſs eaſie in their Minds, and ſcarce content with the preſent Change, to own that to be a *Truth* ſtill, which was ſo the laſt year; and generally received and practiſed; at leaſt univerſally connived at, and made uſe of by thoſe who were the moſt active then, and are the moſt pleaſed and ſatisfied now. The civil Diſſenters have no reaſon to think our Opinions change with our Paſſions and Intereſts. For my part I do not ſee it inconſiſtent with Prudence, even at this time, to declare and appear what we have been, are, and ſhall be in our Principles, and to be known one to another; that ſo we may never be ſuſpected or accuſed of Craft and Inſincerity, or deceive the opinion and Confidences of Men by our own Fault. Why may we not deal ſo plainly now with the World as to ſay that *Popery* and *Abſoluteneſs*, ſo great Friends and ſo well paired; the two great Oppreſſors of the moſt worthy Qualities in the Spirit of Man, Knowledge, Liberty, Generoſity, an enlightned and judicious Vertue, are to be pack'd away together? Theſe have been principally ſupported by Pretenſions to *Infallibility* and *univerſal Irreſiſtibility*. Nor can Abſoluteneſs particularly among us Mortals be any more kept out without an Allowance of ſome Reſtraint or Reſiſtance in ſome caſes, than the Ocean without Shores and Banks.

'Tis God's Word and Command only can oblige it to quit its own Nature and ſtand on Heaps. It is much to hear Men of Judgment and Eperience tell us it may be done by calling to account the Miniſters and Inſtruments of ſome Supream Powers. And what will all that ſignifie when they may be protected by them in all Enormities without any fear of danger? But it is the greateſt wonder to hear it from the ſame Men, That if Abſoluteneſs and Irreſiſtibility could not be ſeparated, rather than part with this laſt, they would take both.

I love them too well that they ſhould be condemn'd to their own choice during Life; but if they will not like *England* becauſe the contrary is there taught and believed, let them take a ſtep over into *France*, and there ſettle their Habitation for a while. I am aſſured they would find there ſuch a knocking Argument,

ſo

ſo well beaten into their Heads, that it would not be long before we ſhould have their Company again.

And as the Truth advanced, and I think proved in theſe Papers, ought to have ſuch influence as to reſtrain the great and continued Exceſſes of ill Government and it's Miniſters; ſo it needs not be in the leaſt fear'd by the juſt and moderate ones, ſuch as ours now is, or elſe never was in this Nation. Eſpecially being always arm'd, as it ought to be, with ſufficient Power to repreſs and puniſh the Raſh and Ignorant, the truly Factious, Seditious and Rebellious. If I had been otherwiſe perſuaded, and but ſuſpected my ſelf to have ſaid things to the Prejudice and Wrong of that ſacred Ordinance of Government, even ſuch as is far from perfect, but ſuch only as Human Affairs and Hopes may eaſily permit and expect; or which might abate the Zeal, Honor and Obedience neceſſary, at this juncture eſpecially, to our preſent Governors; I had ſuppreſt all I had written, or conceal'd moſt.

Whatſoever it is, whether it may be worthy of a Place in a great Bundle of Pamphlets, I intirely refer to your Judgment, who am, &c.

FINIS.

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